

IN the REIGNS of HENRY VIII.
and EDWARD VI. With some
Parallel Instances to the CASE of
JOHN Duke of ~~Marlborough~~^{Mortmouth},
Late Great Favourite of ENGLAND.

To which is added,
The sudden FALL of that Predominant
Statesman JOHN DUDLEY, Duke of
Northumberland. Wherein is contain'd
the Opinion of the *Judges* at that Time, in
the Point of Altering the *Succession*, as then
Settled by *Act of Parliament*.

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THE LIFE

OF
EDWARD SEYMOUR
Duke of Somerset

Lord General and Lord Treasurer
OF THE

REALM



BY
HENRY VANE
AND
FRANCIS VANE
PUBLISHED BY THE
JOHN BARNES OF LONDON
IN GREAT BRITAIN

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that Time thought any Diminution to the Honour or Dignity of the Crown.

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ERRATA.

PAGE 3. Line 26. for *that late Great Favourite*, read *a late Great Favourite*; p. 6. near the Bottom, for *shining Character*, r. *shining'st Character*.

THE

THE
L I F E
OF
Edward Seymour,
DUKE of Somerset, &c.

IF we look into History we shall find, that the frequent Enmity between Great Men has not only produc'd many ill Consequences in Government, but likewise too often ended in the Ruin of one another. Examples of this Kind are so many, that 'twill be difficult to say in what Reign they have not happen'd; and tho' the Inconveniences of these Intestine Bickerings have, no doubt, sometimes reach'd the Throne, it will seem a little strange to say, that we meet with few or no Instances that the Sovereign has been ever very Solicitous to reconcile them, tho' the Authority cannot be question'd to have been sufficient; which points to an Old Maxim, *Ambition, as well as Love, will admit of no Rival.*

In this Case a discarded Favourite seems to stand on the highest Precipice of Danger; for if those, who to an Emergency have enjoy'd the Sovereign Protection, and only with the utmost Reluctancy been abandon'd to the Complaints of their Adversaries, could not be able, almost in any Age, to make their Ground good, to what an Extremity of Fate are they expos'd, where the *Royal Ear* is always open to every Impression that shall be made against them, and ready to order the most vigorous Prosecution that the insatiate Malice of their Enemies can devise? And 'tis from hence certain, That the Ambitious Man is never truly satisfied while his Rival remains in a Capacity of returning, like a Tide, to those Floods of Power and Favour he once enjoy'd, to which many unexpected and sudden Accidents may contribute. 'Tis therefore the Business of his *Safety*, as well as of his *Hatred*, to make *Sure Work*, and we shall not often find that he has fail'd by one Means or other.


In the Life of this Great Man will be found some very Remarkable Instances of what is laid down, and in a Parallel not much different (so far as the Extent of Time has yet carried Things) to the Case of that late Great *Favourite* of this Age. But as I am not to pervert History, the Reader is himself to make the Inferences, which, in a Subject so much in Request, will rather prove a kind of agreeable Amusement, than any real Defect in *Story*.

As to their Birth and Extraction there is little Inequality between them, being both well Descended from Antient and Worthy Ancestors, and of Equestrian Dignity; and if it were any Addition to the Comparison, both
seated

seated in the same County too. But I shall not descend to such Nice Particulars, their Rise and Actions having a very near Parallel, as will be seen in the History of this *Edward*, Duke of *Somerſet*.

He was the Son of Sir *John Seymour*, of *Wolf-Hall*, in the County of *Wilts*, one of the Knights of the Body to King *Henry the Eighth*, and a Person very well esteemed by the King. under which Advantages he had the Honour of bringing his Children to Court. For this *Edward*, who was the eldest of his Three Sons, he obtain'd the Honour of Knighthood, having serv'd as * Page of Honour, and afterwards as one of the Esquires for the Body, to the King: *Thomas*, the Second, was first one of the Gentlemen of the King's Privy-Chamber, and came at last to be Lord * High-Admiral, with other great Preferments. *Henry*, the youngest, had a principal Command in the Army; and his Daughter, *Jane Seymour*, he preferred to be one of the Maids of Honour to Queen *Anne Bullen*, to whose Advancement to the * Royal * Bed, the vast Honours and Preferments heap'd on this great Duke, and his Family, did afterwards accrue: For the King, in his Amorous Amusements, preferring new Beauties to the weak Engagements of Conjugal Love, cast his Affections on this young Lady, while an Attendant on his Queen, for whose Death this new Passion of his soon open'd a wide Door, and for which no other Instances need to be given, than that he mourn'd it in the Robes of Matrimony, Marrying her the very next Day after Queen *Anne Bullen* was Beheaded: And indeed she was the most ador'd of all his Wives; but herein he found a Judgment for his remarkable Incontinence, for she liv'd with him little more

than a Year, and then died in Childbed, to the inexpressible Grief of the King, who not only absented from his Palace, but wore close Mourning, even in the Festival Time of *Christmas*.

*  But to return to Sir *Edward Seymour*, her Brother; upon the King's casting his Affection on her he wanted for no Titles of Honour, or other Preferments, which for her * Sake the King cou'd well bestow: He had first the Title of a Viscount conferred on him, and the Honour of Knighthood to his Brother *Thomas*, being soon after Captain of the Isle of *Jersey*.

Nor did the Tide of Honour stop here, for the King, upon the Death of Sir *John Seymour*, his Father, created him Earl of *Hertford*, and, out of an unusual Point of Bounty and Kindness, gave him a Grant of his Creation-Money, not out of the Profits of the County, as was then usual, but out of his own immediate Revenues.

And now the King began to make Use of him in Martial Affairs.

He was first sent over to dispute the Limits of the *English* against the *French*, who were then raising Forces; and on his Return to *England* was made Lord Great Chamberlain for Life: Soon after which he was join'd with the Duke of *Norfolk* in the Command of those Forces sent into *Scotland* in the 34th of *Henry VIII.* and the next Year made Lieutenant-General of the *North*; and now his dawning Glory began to be very Conspicuous by his Successes against the Enemy.

The King therefore being at the Siege of *Bologne*, where they found a very warm Defence, sent for him thither, whom he joined with

with a Body of fresh Troops, and soon reduced the Place, and afterwards routed an Army of 14000 *French*, who lay encamped hard by.


The *Scots* making several Incurſions upon the Borders in Conjunction with 5000 Auxiliaries from *France*, he was ſent againſt them, where he deſtroyed all the Towns upon the Middle Marches, and paſſing toward the *West*, made great Spoil in thoſe Parts: Soon after, the *French* endeavouring to regain *Bologne*, he forced their Retreat, and purſuing the Enemy, beſides the Slaughter, gain'd ſeveral Trophies of his Succeſs. The next Year the Earl of *Surrey*, Governour of *Bologne*, being laid aſide, he was put in his ſtead, and was ſent over with the Lord Admiral, and an Army of 9300 Men, to oppoſe the *French*, then making Head; and ſoon after, upon Propoſals of Peace, was conſtituted the Chief of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners for that Treaty.

And now the King lying on his Death-bed, he was appointed one of his Executors, and of the Council to his Son, Prince *Edward*; who being Proclaimed, he was by the Unanimous Conſent of the Council choſen Protector to the King, and conſtituted Lord Treasuſer of *England*, and advanced to the Dignity of Duke of *Somerſet*, and created Earl-Marſhal of *England* for Life, and a little Time after received his Patent of Protector and Governour of the King and Realm; and the ſame Year had a Special Grant that he ſhould ſit alone, and be placed at all Times, as well in the King's Preſence in Parliament, as in his Abſence, on the Middle of the Bench or Stool ſtanding next on the Right Hand the King's Seat-Royal in Parliament. Soon after he was ſent at the Head of a ſtrong Army into *Scotland*, where he fought
Muſſel-

Musselborough-Battle, where he gave the Scots a Signal Overthrow. An Ancient Historian recites the following Character of him.

*Being much in Favour with King Henry VIII. and by him much employed, he was always observed to be Faithful and Fortunate, as well in giving Advice as in managing a Charge. The Invasion of James V. of Scotland was frustrated, and Solem-Mosse-Battle won by his Direction. The next Year He and the Earl of Warwick Burnt Leith and Edinburgh, and wasted Tivedale and the Marches. The following Year being sent to view the Fortifications of the Marches of Calais, with the hardy Approach of 7000 English, he beat up an Army of 21000 French, took their Baggage and Cannon, and all with the Loss of One Man, and afterwards won the Castle commonly called Red-Pile. The next Year he invaded and spoiled Picardy, and began the Forts of New-haven, Blackness, and Bullinberge. Upon these and other like Successes his succeeding Fortunes were always esteemed rather New than Strange; and his only Presence was reputed Sufficient Surety for an * Army. Yet did he never rise hereby, either in Haughtiness in himself, or in Contempt of others, but remain'd Courteous and Affable, chusing a Course least subject to Envy, by avoiding Popular Applause, nor ever aspiring higher than to be the Second Person in the State.*

This is a Summary Account of his Actions and Character; and 'tis reasonable to think such excellent Principles might have secur'd a Man from the most malicious Machinations form'd against him, but when there is a Door open to * Insinuations, the most illustrious Actions may be perverted, and the shining Character debased and clouded. It was under such Constructions that his avowed Adversary, the Earl of ~~Warwick~~ *Warwick*, who had long projected his Fall,

Fall, prevail'd in his Design: There had been a former Grudge between 'em, on the Account of *Warwick's* losing the * Post of Lord High- *  Admiral, which the Duke had procur'd to his Brother, the Lord *Sudley*; but chiefly that he stood in the Way of his Ambitious Designs, which was to have the chief Sway at Court himself.

He therefore lay upon the Watch for every Opportunity to accomplish his Ends, toward which a very strange and unhappy Accident in Time made Way. Having insinuated himself into the Lord *Sudley's* Family, he first rais'd Discontents between him and his Brother, the Protector; and at the same Time under a dissembled Friendship to the other, found Means to foment and aggravate the Differences, without being seen in it in the least. This *Thomas*, Lord *Sudley*, had Married *Catherine Parr*, Relict of King *Henry VIII.* a Woman adorn'd with many Excellent Qualifications of Mind and Body, against whom the Dutches of *Somerset* had conceiv'd an irreconcilable Quarrel, upon very slight Grounds, chiefly because she had Precedency of her, who was otherwise the Wife of the greatest Peer in the Kingdom, and from whom none had before taken Place: Besides, she the more resented being dispossess'd by the Wife of a younger Brother. 'Tis certain, say our Historians, she was a Woman of a haughty Temper, and had not that regard to Her Sovereign which she ought to have had; and therefore to obtain her Revenge, she possess'd her Husband that the Lord *Sudley* sought nothing more than to dispossess him of the King's Favour, and to advance himself in his Place. *Warwick* had his Finger in this Business all the while, and drew in

in others to add Fewel to it, as they found Opportunity ; and the Duke withal something listening to his Wife's Interpositions, an open Enmity ensu'd between the Two Brothers.

The Duke, who was of a free and open Temper, did not perceive the Trap that *Warwick* had laid for him ; and indeed, if we may Credit History, his Brother's Actions gave him Cause sufficient for Distrust, who being a Man naturally Fierce and Ambitious, and conceiving himself of the Two the fitter for Publick Government, he began to look on his Brother with Contempt : What might farther serve to raise his Enmity against him was, that having a vain Design to Marry the Princess *Elizabeth*, tho' at that Time scarce Marriageable, the Protector had wisely prevented it, considering it as a very rash and dangerous Project. From this Time they acted no more like Brothers, for the Lord *Sudley* having fortified himself with Money and Friends, began to villifie and traduce the Protector, and to endeavour to corrupt the King's Servants with large Promises, and by degrees to draw in some of the Nobility to him, of which Number *Warwick* craftily pretended to be, but his View was only the Ruin of them both.

In the Interim, the Queen *Dowager*, his Wife, dying in Child bed, not without Suspicion of Poison, he now more importunately sought the Princess *Elizabeth* than ever, endeavouring to procure her even by a Clandestine Marriage, and not till after the Nuptials to have acquainted the King or Council with it : But this Design being seasonably discover'd, and a Parliament assembled, he was, by the Authority thereof, committed to the *Tower*,
and

and without any Trial Condemn'd; and soon after, upon the Dissolution of the Parliament, Publickly Beheaded, having first solemnly protested, *That he had never any sinister Intentions against the King or Kingdom:* And indeed, considering the Hand that *Marwick* had in all this Matter, and in fomenting the Charge against him, it may very well be taken for Truth.

This *Thomas Lord Sudley* was a Person of Admirable Courage, Magnificent Air, and Comely Person, but of a more Fierce and Untractable Temper than the Protector his Brother: They were otherwise both so well affected to the King, that one might well be term'd his Sword, and the other his Buckler. The Duke was greatest in Favour with the People, and the other with the Nobility; both highly esteem'd by the King, both Fortunate alike in their Undertakings, and both Ruin'd alike by their own Inadvertency, in opening a Way to the Malicious Designs of their Enemies, which were chiefly to set them at Variance with each other, which had such Effect, that the Knot, not only of Love, but of Nature, seem'd to be dissolv'd: Whilst they held together in Amity, they were like Two Arms, the one defending the other, and both of them the King; but many Things concurr'd to dissolve this Union, especially their Dispositions, which were much unlike; living in Precarious Friendship, like Brothers, gl'd together, not cemented; having besides incur'd the Envy of many of the Nobility, by the Great Honours and Preferments they enjoy'd, and who were only to be ruin'd by being separated.

Thus far **Marwick** had carried his Point, and he had now a hopeful Foundation to blacken and defame the Protector, and render him odious to the Nation; for having sign'd the Warrant for his Brother's Execution, (as indeed nobody else could sign it,) this was maliciously thrown among the People, and that he had been the chief Instrument of taking away his Life: From hence arose a very great Hatred against him; many of the Nobility, and others, calling him a Bloodsucker, and a Murderer; and saying, it was not fit the King should be trusted under the Protection of such a Monster.

Other Clamours were more purposely rais'd against him, particularly, that he had caus'd a Church, near *Strand-Bridge*, and Two Bishops Houses, to be pull'd down to make a Seat for his New Building, call'd *Smerfet-House*, in digging the Foundation whereof the Bones of many who had been buried there were dug up, and carried into the Fields: And because the Stones of that Church, and those said Houses, were not sufficient for that Work, the Steeple, and most Part of the Church of *St. John of Jerusalem*, were ruin'd and overthrown with Gunpowder, and the Stones carried to contribute toward that Building: Likewise the *Cloysters* on the North Side of *St. Paul's Cathedral*, and the *Charnal-House* on the South Side thereof, with the Chapel, the Tombs, and Monuments therein, being all beaten down, and the Bones carried into *Finsbury-Fields*, and that for the same Purpose he intended to have pull'd down *St. Margaret's Church* at *Westminster*.

These Things took Fire among the Common People, whereupon *Warwick* espying his Opportunity, drew to him no less than Eighteen of the Privy-Council to join with him in overthrowing the Protector, alarming the Nation in general against him: With this Party he withdrew from Court, who enter'd into secret Consultations, frequenting the City with a numerous Train of Servants in Rich Liveries, and other Demonstrations of Disorder; which so startled the Protector, that he sent his Secretary to them in the King's Name to demand the Causes of their assembling in that Manner; and to signifie, that he would thank them for hating him, in Case they did it in love to the King, for whose Sake he desired them to desist from needless Hostility, and meet like Friends, that the Occasions of these Animosities might be remov'd. In the mean Time he arm'd 500 Men, Part the King's, and Part his own, ramper'd the Court Gates, and causing more Men to be levied, both by Letters and Proclamation, removing the King from *Hampton-Court* to *Windsor*.

Whereupon the Lords at *London* took Possession of the *Tower*, sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City to *Ely-House*, where *Warwick* lodg'd, and there presenting themselves secretly arm'd, caus'd the Lord Chancellor *Rich* to make a Speech to them; wherein, first exposing the Protector's Imperfections, he went on: "That tho' he wanted many requisite good Qualities for the Office he enjoy'd, yet he was so Opiniative and Proud, that he rejected the Advice of others: That his Wife was an Imperious Woman, and had carried herself

“ herself obstinately, as well to the Queen
 “ *Dowager* as to other Lords and Ladies of the
 “ Court, to whom she grew almost intolerable. In general, he said, that he was Guilty
 “ of Bribery and Extortion; and that he had
 “ laid his Hands on the King's Jewels and
 “ Treasure left by his Father, which were
 “ known to be of inestimable Value; and had given
 “ forth, that King *Henry* died so Poor, that
 “ had he liv'd a Quarter of a Year longer he
 “ had been utterly sham'd.

“ Likewise that he had, under Pretence of
 “ Necessity, made Sale and Exchanges of the
 “ King's Lands, as also of the Offices and Preferments in his Disposal, without regarding
 “ either Merit, or any Thing else, provided he
 “ cou'd draw the Money into his own Coffers.
 “ That he had erected a Mint at *Durham-Place*
 “ for his own private Advantage, made Sale
 “ of Colleges, and Chantries, levied Subsidies
 “ under Colour of War, imbezzled the King's
 “ Treasure, extorted Money by Loans, yet left
 “ the King's Servants and Soldiers unpaid, and
 “ wasted vast Sums in erecting Sumptuous
 “ Buildings. Not forgetting to throw in the
 “ Death of his Brother, whom they alledg'd
 “ he had unnaturally brought to the Scaffold,
 “ and actually sign'd the Warrant for his Execution with his own Hand. That he likewise
 “ so wholly possess'd the King's Ear, that
 “ he kept many of his best Friends from coming
 “ to him, lest they shou'd undeceive him
 “ of these Things.

“ That he had endeavour'd to draw away
 “ the common People, by a feigned dissimulated
 “ Gesture, having those ready to Trumpet
 “ pet

“ pet and Extol his *Actions*, whereby the Peo-
 “ ple were foolishly drawn to set too great a
 “ Value on his former Services, which had not
 “ been atchiev’d either by Courage or Con-
 “ duct, but thro’ a little good Fortune; and
 “ that others who were not so conspicuous in
 “ their Posts had deserved as well as he, whose
 “ Services he always took Care to blind; and
 “ preferr’d none in the Army but his own
 “ Creatures, making Sale of Inferiour Commis-
 “ sions, and out of a covetous Humour, bar-
 “ tering the Honour of a General for poultry
 “ Sums of Money; which he amass’d together,
 “ whereby he engross’d greater Riches than
 “ the King himself, and had rais’d his Family
 “ to such a heighth, that they wholly sway’d
 “ the King and Kingdom.

“ That to make the *French King* his Friend,
 “ he had betray’d the King’s Forts beyond
 “ Seas, and transacted several Things of Con-
 “ sequence underhand, as had been very pre-
 “ judicial to the Nation. Likewise that
 “ he intended to procure a Resignation of the
 “ King’s Sisters, and others, who were entituled
 “ to the Crown, and entail the same upon his
 “ own Posterity. Urging the Citizens upon all
 “ these Considerations to join with the Lords
 “ in Council to remove him.

In the Afternoon of the same Day the Lord
 Mayor assembled a Common Council at *Guild-
 Hall*, where Two Letters arriv’d almost in one
 Instant, One from the King and the Lord Prote-
 ctor for 1000 Men to be arm’d for the Safety of
 the King’s Person, the other from the Lords in
 London for double the Number to aid them in
 Defence of the King’s Person; both Parties pre-
 tending

tending alike, but both intending nothing less. The Recorder, who was in the Interest of the Lords at *London*, did very fully set forth their Complaints against the Protector, so that he won a great many to favour their Party; but a Disinterested and truly Worthy Citizen, nam'd *Stradlowe*, stood up, and spake to the Assembly as follows,

" This Business, Right Honourable Lord Mayor, and the Residue of this Court, as it is a very high Passage of State, so it is worthy of serious Consideration; and that upon sudden Advice, nothing may be done or determined therein, lest probably by being serviceable to the Designs of other Men, whose Purposes we know not, we cast ourselves into the Throat of Danger, which hitherto we do not see. Two Things I much fear, in Case we afford present Aid to the Lords, either of which should cast upon us a Bridle rather to stop us a while, than for stopping or stirring too soon or too fast at their Incitement; one is the certain Dangers of the City, the other the uncertain Adventure of all the Realm.

" First then, if we join to the Lords, whether they prevail or not we might ingulph ourselves into assured Danger; an Example whereof I find in *Fabian*, whose Report I entreat you all to observe. In the Time of *Henry III.* the Lords, in a good Cause, for Maintenance of divers Beneficial Laws, desir'd Aid of the City against the King, which was granted, and the Quarrel brought to the Arbitriment of the Sword. In this Battle the King and his Son were ta-

" ken

" ken Prisoners, and upon their Enlargement
 " a free Pardon was granted, not only to the
 " Lords, but the Citizens of London, which
 " was afterwards confirm'd in Parliament.
 " But what follow'd? Was the Displeasure
 " forgotten? No verily, nor ever forgotten
 " during that King's Life: For afterwards the
 " Liberties of the City were taken away,
 " Strangers appointed Governours, and the Ci-
 " tizens perpetually vex'd in their Persons and
 " Estates.

" Next, touching my Fear for the Common-
 " Wealth I much suspect these Considerati-
 " ons. I always expect from them some
 " lurking Mischief, which the more cunningly
 " it be kept in, the more dangerously it will
 " break forth. For albeit there may be many
 " Hands in this Action, yet one is the Head,
 " who doubtless hath Skill to play his own
 " Game; and tho' the Pretences given out are
 " always fair, and for the Publick Good, yet
 " are the secret Intentions commonly ambi-
 " tious, and only aim at private Ends. Yea,
 " many times the End is worse than the first
 " Intent; because when the Subject hath ob-
 " tain'd the Hand against his Prince, I will not
 " say he will be loth, but doubtless it is not
 " safe, for him to give over his Advantage:
 " Wherefore I am of Opinion that we
 " suspend giving any Aid for the present.

Upon this Advice the Court resolv'd to
 arm 100 Horse and 4000 Foot for Defence
 of the City: To the King they return'd An-
 swer, That they would be ready upon any
 Necessity to apply all their Forces either for his

his Honour or Defence, but intreated him to be pleas'd to hear such Complaints as were objected against the Protector before he assembled Forces in the Field, which in those Tempestuous Times, as it could not be done without great Danger, so without very great Cause it should not be undertaken. To the Lords they answer'd, That they were ready to join them in any Dutiful Petition to the King, but to join with them in Arms they could not upon so short a Warning, and without Time more duly to consider it.

The next Day the Lords at London dispatch'd Letters to the Lords at *Windsor*, wherein they charg'd him with many Disorders, both in his private Actions, and manner of Government, requiring that he should disperse the Forces he had rais'd, withdraw himself from the King, and be contented to submit himself to Justice and Reason. Hereupon the King fearing the worst, dissolv'd all those additional Troops, keeping only his Guards, and the Protector dispatch'd his Secretary once more to the Lords at *London*, to persuade them, for the Publick Good, that all Animosities might be laid aside; but neither did they permit the Secretary to return to him, nor sent any Message back.

Finding they were wonderfully exasperated against him, without any apparent Cause, but that he enjoy'd the King's Favour, he wrote Two Letters, one in his own Name to the Earl of *Warwick*, and the other in the Name of the Lords at *Windsor*, to the Lords at *London*, in which he expostulated the Matter with them in the most gentle and obliging

ing Terms, offering to refer his Cause to any equitable Decision they wou'd Name; but this, instead of having the Effect he imagin'd, only inspir'd them with the greater Ardour and Courage to proceed in their violent Measures against him.

Hereupon they forthwith Published a Proclamation under the Hands of Seventeen of them, wherein they charged the Causes of all the Calamities and Losses which had lately before happened, and had cost the Lives of many Thousands of the King's Subjects; likewise the Loss of divers Pieces beyond the Sea, which had been won by the great Adventure of the late King's Person, and Consumption of his Treasure, to have been through the evil Government of this Protector; and desired, and in the King's Name prohibited, all Subjects from farther giving Obedience to any of his Precepts. Soon after the Publishing whereof they directed Three Letters to *Windsor*, one to the King himself, another to the Protector, and a third to the Household; which Letter to the Protector was gilded with many smooth Words, fair Promises, and full of Hope; but the other Two foully setting forth his Obstinacy, Avarice, Ambition, his rash Engagements into Wars in the King's unsettled Age and Estate, his Negligences, Deceits, and all other Insufficiencies beforementioned.

Wherewith Sir *Robert Wingfield*, Captain of the Guard, being sent to *Windsor*, he so well persuaded the King, both of the Loyal Affections of the Lords towards him, and of their moderate Desires against the Protector, (then present,) that he was remov'd from the King's Per-

D

son,

son, and a Guard set upon him till the next Day, when the Lords at *London* were appointed to be there : Who came accordingly, but the Earl of *Warwick* not with them, tho' all moved from him. Which Lords coming before the King repeated their former Complaints, advising him to beware of such as were both Powerful, Ambitious, Mischievous, and Rich : Affirming, that it would be better Security to him, that this Power should be committed to many, who cannot so readily knit together in Will or in Action, as when the whole Managery resideth in one : Whereupon this Duke (being no longer called Protector) was put into their Hands, and committed to Custody in *Beauchamp's Tower*, within that Castle, and the next Day brought to *London*, where he rode through *Holbourn* betwixt the Earls of *Southampton* and *Huntington*, followed by Lords and Gentlemen to the Number of Three Hundred, all mounted on Horseback ; and at *Sophers-lane* being received by the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder, and divers Knights of Note, with their Attendants, bearing Halberts, was convey'd to the *Tower*.

Where having breath'd a small Time, certain Lords of the Council were sent to him, who after a short Preface in such Terms as Hate and Dissimulation could temper together, remembering how great the Amity had formerly been between them, and of what continuance, then acknowledging what Offices and Services he had done for the Commonwealth, yet enterlacing some Errors and Defects wherewith they seemed to reproach him, they presented to him certain Articles, as from the rest of the Privy-Council, desiring his present Answer, whether he would

would acknowledge them to be true, or stand upon his Justification.

Which Articles were these.

1. **T**HAT he took upon him the Office of Protector upon expresse Condition, that he should do nothing in the King's Affairs but by Assent of the late King's Executors, or the greatest Part of them.

2. That, contrary to this Condition, he did hinder Justice, and subvert Laws of his own Authority, as well by Letters as by other Command.

3. That he caus'd divers Persons Arrested and Imprisoned for Treason, Murther, Manslaughter, and Felony, to be discharged against the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

4. That he appointed Lieutenants for Armies, and other Officers, for the Weighty Affairs of the King, under his own Writing and Seal.

5. That he communed with Ambassadors of other Realms alone of the Weighty Matters of the Realm.

6. That he would taunt and reprove divers of the King's most Honourable Counsellors for declaring their Advice in the King's Weighty Affairs against his Opinion; sometimes telling them that they were not worthy to sit in Council, and sometimes that he needed not to open Weighty Matters to them; and that if they were not agreeable to his Opinion he would discharge them.

7. That against Law he held a Court of Requests in his House, and did enforce divers to answer there for their Freehold and Goods, and did determine of the same.

8. That being no Officer, (without the Advice of the Council, or most part of them,) he did dispose of the King's Gift for Money, grant Leases and Wards, gave Bishopricks, and made Sale of the King's Lands.

9. That he commanded Alchimy and Multiplication to be practised, thereby to debase the King's Coin.

10. That divers Times he openly said, that the Nobility and Gentry were the only Cause of Dearth, whereupon People rose to reform Matters of themselves.

11. That against the Mind of the whole Council, he caused Proclamation to be made concerning Inclosures, whereupon the People made divers Insurrections, and destroyed many of the King's Subjects.

12. That he sent forth a Commission with Articles Annexed concerning Inclosures, Common Highways, Cottages, and such like Matters; giving the Commissioners Authority to bear and determine those Causes, whereby the Laws and Statutes of the Realm were subverted, and much Rebellion raised.

13. That he suffered Rebels to assemble, and lye Armed in Camp, against the Nobility and Gentry of the Realm, without speedy repressing of them.

14. That

14. That he did comfort and encourage divers Rebels, by giving them Money, and promising them Fees, Rewards, and Services.

15. That he caused a Proclamation to be made against Law, and in Favour of the Rebels, that none of them should be vex'd or sued by any for their Offences in their Rebellion.

16. That in Time of Rebellion he said, that he liked well the Actions of the Rebels; and that the Avarice of Gentlemen gave Occasion to the People to rise; and that it was better for them to die than to perish for Want.

17. That he said, the Lords of the Parliament were loth to reform Inclosures, and other Things, therefore the People had good Cause to reform themselves.

28. That after Declaration of the Defaults of Buloine, and the Pieces there, by such as did survive them, he would never amend the same.

19. That he would never suffer the King's Peices of Newhaven and Blackness to be furnished with Men and Provision, albeit he was advertized of the Defaults, and advised thereto by the King's Council; whereby the French King was emboldened to attempt upon them.

20. That he would neither give Authority, nor suffer Noblemen and Gentlemen, to suppress Rebels in Time convenient; but wrote to them to speak the Rebels fair, and use them gently.

21. That

21. That upon the Fifth of October, (that present Year,) at Hampton-Court, for Defence of his own private Causes, he procured Seditious Bills to be written in Counterfeit Hands, and secretly to be dispersed in divers Parts of the Realm, beginning thus, Good People, intending thereby to raise the King's Subjects to Rebellion and open War.

22. That the King's Privy-Council did consult at London to come to him, and move him to reform his Government; but he hearing thereof, declared by his Letters in divers Places that they were High Traytors to the King.

23. That he declared untruly, as well to the King, as to other Young Lords attending his Person, that the Lords at London intended to destroy the King, and desired the King never to forget to revenge it; and required the Young Lords to put the King in Remembrance thereof, with Intent to make Sedition and Discord between the King and his Nobles.

24. That at divers Times and Places he said, That the Lords of the Council at London intend to Kill me; but if I Die the King shall Die, and if they Famish me they shall Famish him.

25. That of his own Head he removed the King so suddenly from Hampton-Court to Windsor, without any Provision there made, that he was thereby, not only in great Fear, but cast into a dangerous Disease.

26. That by his Letters he caused the King's People to assemble in great Numbers in Armour, after the Manner of War, to his Aid and Assistance.

27. That

27. *That he caused his Servants and Friends at Hampton-Court and Windsor to be Apparelled in the King's Armour, when the King's Servants and Guard went Unarmed.*

28. *That he intended to fly to Jersey and Wales, and laid Post-horses, and Men, and a Boat, to that Purpose.*

Tho' there is no Question to be made but that most of these Articles were meerly devised, others enlarg'd or wrested, and otherwise odiously interpreted, yet the Duke, for Quietness Sake, subscrib'd them with his own Hand; not as many Authors make out, for want of Resolution to defend himself, but more certainly because he knew the Strength of his Enemies Faction, who were in Effect all the Council, except One or Two: And likewise tenderly, considering the Danger the King, his Nephew, wou'd be in if this Broil had proceeded farther; and the Danger of the State of Religion too, to which many on the other Side had no great Favour; it therefore does not seem his Weakness, as these Authors infer, but rather his Caution and Prudence, that made him submit as he did: First to the King, of whom he formally crav'd Mercy; and next to many of the Lords of Council, whom he pray'd to intercede for him with the King.

These humble Submissions made a Heavenly Harmony in the Ears of the Duke's Enemies; but they wrought their Effect also in the King's Breast, so that he was forthwith releas'd from the Tower, had his Fines discharg'd, and his Lands and Goods restor'd, except such as had been
given

given away ; either the Malice of his Enemies being somewhat appeas'd, or their Credit not sufficient to resist. Soon after which he was entertain'd and feasted by the King with great Shew of Favour, and sworn again of the Privy-Council, and a seeming Amity made between him and the Lords ; and to compleat all, a Match made between the Duke's Daughter and **Warwick's** Eldest Son, and **Warwick** himself made Lord High Admiral, and soon after rais'd to the Dignity of Duke of **Northumberland**.

But these Appearances of a Calm did not last long, for this new Favourite **Northumberland** being now in Honour Inferiour to none, and Superiour in Power and Authority to all the Court, he cou'd not restrain his Ambitious Designs, which 'tis presum'd were to acquire the chief Sway to himself, and to be absolute in Command : But before he cou'd mount to this Pitch of Grandeur, he found it absolutely necessary to remove *Somerset* out of the Way ; for he did not like the late Reconciliation, and was conscious how far a little more Time might carry it ; for tho' he stood stripp'd of his Offices of Protector, Treasurer, and Marshal, yet he was soon restor'd by the Breath of the King's Mouth. He was therefore first accus'd with a Design to Murder *Northumberland*, and other Lords ; to which was added Reports, that he had caus'd himself to be proclaim'd King in several Counties ; which though they were known to be false, yet they rubb'd upon old Sores, and caus'd a great Ferment among the People.

In the Interim, to make his Mischief more sure, he join'd to him the Earl of *Arundel*, late Lord Chamberlain, and the Earl of *Southampton*, sometime Lord Chancellor. Men of their own Nature, circumspect and slow, and at that Time Discountenanc'd, and in Discontent, whom therefore he singled as fittest for his Purpose. Many secret Conferences they had at their several Houses, which often lasted the greatest Part of the Night: But at other times they were cautious and reserv'd in assenting to his Advice in any weighry Matters propos'd; so that they seem'd to have abandon'd his Party, which he had Power and Cunning enough to turn to their Ruin; for when he saw he cou'd by no means draw them into his private Interest, he found Means to have them discharg'd from Council, and to be confin'd to their Houses, not wanting very plausible Objections against them. And doubtless he had Reason enough to suspect, that they who had the Honesty not to approve his Ambitious Purposes, wou'd not want the Heart to oppose them.

The next Accusation against the Duke was, That he had perswaded many of the Nobility to chuse him Protector again at the ensuing Parliament: And Sir *Thomas Palmer*, a great Creature of *Northumberland's*, also affirm'd, That being upon a Journey with him towards the North, in Case Sir *William Herbert*, Master of the Horse, had not assur'd him he shou'd receive no Harm, he wou'd have rais'd the People, and that he had sent the Lord *Grey* before to know who wou'd be his Friends: Also, That the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquis of

E Northampton,

Northampton, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, shou'd have been invited to a Banquet; and if they had come slenderly attended, to have been set upon by the Way; if otherwise, then their Heads to be cut off at the Place of Feasting. He likewise farther declar'd, That Sir *Ralph Vane* had 2000 Men ready; That Sir *Thomas Arundel* had assur'd the Tower; That *Seymour* and *Hammond* wou'd wait on him; and That all the Horse of the Gend'army shou'd be slain.

To which Mr. Secretary *Cecil* added, that the Duke had sent for him, and said, He suspected some ill Meaning against him; and that he replied, *If he were not in Fault he might trust to his Innocence, if he were he had nothing to say, but to lament him.*

Being advis'd of these Proceedings by some who had Regard to Truth and Honesty, he immediately sent Letters, wherein he openly defy'd the Secretary, and then sent to Sir *Thomas Palmer* to understand what he had said of him, who denied all he had reported. Yet the Duke, either ignorant of what was intended by all this, or fearing that his open Defence might precipitate his Enemies to proceed in their Designs, came to Court; but it happening to be a little later than usual, it was interpreted as an Evidence of his Guilt, tho' nothing was farther from it: He was therefore after Dinner suddenly apprehended, and Sir *Ralph Vane* being twice sent for, fled. The Day following likewise his Dutcheß was sent to the Tower, at which very few People griev'd.

Sir *Thomas Palmer* being again examin'd, added to what he had said before, That when the Gend^r army had been assaulted, that the Duke design'd to run thro' the City, and Proclaim Liberty ; but in case his Attempt did not succeed, he wou'd go to the *Isle of Wight*, or to *Poole*.

Another Evidence was one *Crane*, a Person who having consum'd his own Estate, was prepar'd for any mischievous Purpose he was put upon. This Man declar'd for the most Part what *Palmer* had done, but added, That the Lord *Paget's* House was the Place where the Nobility shou'd have been kill'd at a Banquet ; also that the Earl of *Arundel* had been made acquainted with the Practice by Sir *Michael Stanhope* ; and that it had been put in Practice, had not the Greatness of the Enterprize caus'd Delays, and some Difference about it ; he said also, That this Duke once pretending himself Sick, went to *London* to try what Friends he cou'd procure. *Hammond* also said, That the Duke's Lodgings at *Greenwich* had been strongly watch'd by Night.

All these were sworn before the Council, and the greatest Part of the Nobility of the Realm, that their Confessions were true, and as favourably set down in Behalf of the Duke, as their Consciences wou'd permit. And immediately, upon the Information of *Crane*, the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Paget* were sent to the *Tower*, with some of their Domesticks.

Whereupon, to give some publick Satisfaction to the People, the Lord Chancellor declar'd openly in the *Star-Chamber* all these Accusations against the Duke of *Somerset*: Letters were also publish'd to all Potentates, Embassadors, and Chief Men in any State, wherein these Matters were compriz'd. By other Letters, the Muster of the Gend'army was put off for certain Months; other Letters were directed to Sir *Arthur Darcy* to take Charge of the *Tower*, and to discharge Sir *Arthur Markham*, for that, without acquainting any of the Lords of the Council, he suffer'd the Duke of *Somerset* to walk Abroad, and permitted Intercourses of Letters between *David Seymour*, and Mrs. *Poines*.

And now *Warwick*, impatient of his long projected Designs, and distrusting whether the King's Lenity, and great Love for his Uncle, might not return to its natural Source, he was hasten'd to his Trial, the Charge against him consisting of Five Parts. 1. Of raising Men in the *North* Parts of *England*. 2. Of Assembling Men to kill *Northumberland*. 3. Of resisting his Attachment. 4. Of killing the Gend'army. And, 5. Of assaulting the Lords, and devising their Deaths.

To which he pleaded not Guilty, and put himself on his Trial of his Peers. He first deny'd that he had any Intent to raise Men in the *North*, but that upon some Brutes apprehending a Fear, he sent to Sir *William Herbert* to remain his Friend. He said that he never determin'd to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, or any other Lord, but spoke of it only, and determin'd the contrary.

contrary. Alledging further, That it had been a Mad Enterprize with his 100 Men to have assaulted the Gend'army, consisting of 900: Nay, and suppose he had prevail'd, to what Advantage cou'd it any Way have turn'd: Next he said, That he never projected any Stir at *London*, but always held it a good Place for his Security: And for having Men in his Chamber at *Greenwich*, 'twas manifest he had no ill Intent by it; for when he might have done it, he did it not. He likewise objected several Things against the Persons whose Examinations had been taken, especially *Palmer*, desiring they might be brought to his Face, which to a Person of his Condition was but reasonable: But this was refus'd, and indeed the Reputation of these Evidences was but very slender.

It was strenuously argu'd by the King's Council, That many of the Crimes charg'd upon him were Treason, and the other Felony,

The Lords went together, and first the Duke of *Suffolk* nobly said, That he did not hold it reasonable, that this being a Contention between private Subjects, that under Pretence thereof any mean Action shou'd be drawn to Intention of Treason. *Warwick*, who among the rest, put on a Sadness of Countenance, spoke of the same Side; but it was not taken to proceed from his Modesty, but that he cou'd not in that Assembly enforce the contrary with Honour. The Marquiss of *Northampton* us'd many Contentious Arguments, but never reply'd to any Answer upon him.

Some of the rest plainly objected, That they held it unfit that either *Northumberland*, the Marquiss of *Northampton*, or the Earl of *Pembroke*, shou'd be of the Trial, because the Person was chiefly charg'd with Practices intended against them. But hereto Answer was made, That a Peer of the Realm might not be challeng'd. After much Difference in Opinion, the Duke was acquitted of Treason, but by a Majority of Voices of *Northumberland's* Faction found Guilty of Felony; nor wou'd this have gone so hard, but that they had politickly prosecuted all under Pretence of Treason.

The Duke might certainly have craved the Benefit of his Clergy; (indeed by a Statute of *Hen. VII.* it is Felony for Inferior Persons to contrive the Death of a Privy Councillor, but Peers are expressly therein excepted;) but apprehending, as 'tis presumed, that his Submission would have a good Effect on the Temper of his Enemies, to disarm them of their Spirit of Malice, he suffered Judgment to pass. As he departed, being acquitted of Treason, the Ax of the *Tower* was not openly carried, whereupon the People imagining he had been acquitted in general, set up such Joyful and Repeated Shouts that they were heard beyond *Charing-Cross*. 'Tis certain the People favoured him the more because they perceived the Secret Malice that was borne him; but this immoderate Favour of the Multitude did him no good, for his Adversaries took the Advantage of turning it to his Prejudice. It was insinuated to the King, That after the Duke's Return to the *Tower* he acknowledged to certain Lords that he had hired *Bartueille* to make them away; That *Bartueille* had confessed

confessed as much, and that *Hammond* was not
 Ignorant thereof; which, whether true, or de-
 vised to estrange the King from him, was not
 without its Effects; for having by Masques,
 Tiltings, and other Diversions, alleviated the
 King's Mind from him as much as possible,
 and withal breath'd dangerous Things against
 him into his Tender Ears, after Two Months
 Continuance in Prison, and notwithstanding the
 King's Earnest Desire to save him, the Force
 of his Enemies Persuasions prevailed; and on
 the 24th of Jan. 1552, he was drawn to the
 Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, where being come, he
 address'd himself to the People; and after some
 few Words on the Occasion of his Suffering,
 " He pray'd them all to be contented with his
 " Death, which he was most willing to suffer;
 " and likewise that they would join with him
 " in Prayer for the Preservation of his Majesty,
 " to whom he had hitherto approved himself a
 " Faithful and True Subject, and had always
 " been most Diligent about his Majesties Af-
 " fairs both at Home and Abroad; and no less
 " in seeking the Common Benefit of the Realm.
 At which Words the People cried out, *It is*
most True. " He wish'd the King continual
 " Health and Happiness. To which the People
 cried again, *Amen.* " He wish'd likewise to all
 " his Councillors the Grace and Favour of
 " God, whereby they might Rule with Ju-
 " stice; and above all, recommended to them
 " Obedience to the Soversign Power under
 " Pain of Condemnation.

As to his Affairs with private Men, he said,
 There were those whom he had offended, whom
 he desired earnestly to pardon him, as he for-
 gave all those who had any ways offended him.
 And

And now there happened a Kind of Disorder among the People, who were in great Hopes a Pardon had been brought him; but this being appear'd, he desired the People to be Still.

“ For, said he, I have often look'd Death in the Face upon great Adventures in the Field, he is now no Stranger to me; and of all the vain Mockeries of this World, I repent me of nothing more than esteeming Life more Dear than I ought to have done. I have endured the Hate of Great Persons, so much the more Dangerous, because Unjust. I have incurr'd Displeasure from Inferiors, not always from any great Faults of my own, (altho' I was never free,) but for giving Way to the Faults of others: And now I neither fear to Die, nor desire to Live, and having mastered all Grief in myself, I desire no Man to sorrow for me: And then suffered with admirable Constancy and Presence of Mind, neither by Voice, Gesture, or Countenance, shewing himself any way dejected or moved at the Apprehension of Death.

He was certainly a Man as Inoffensive as Faithful, who never harboured any Designs Prejudicial to the King, but always intended his Safety and Honour. The People departed under the most infallible Tokens of Grief, dipping Handkerchiefs in his Blood, which they preserv'd as so many Sacred Relicks of the Memory of this *Great Man*; who was the more pitied and lamented for the known Enmity and Hatred that *Dorchester* had against him, and who fell a Sacrifice to the *Malice and Envy* of his Enemies, contracted merely through the
great

great Grandeur and Favour he was arriv'd to. Nor did this satisfy only for his Friends, some of them must bear him Company, and others be involv'd in his Ruin, to make the greater Noise in the Ears of the People, and to lead them into more specious Amusements of his Guilt.

The sudden Fall of Northumberland.

What follows of this History, is an Account of the sudden Fall of Northumberland, who having, between the Effects of Enmity and Ambition, procur'd Somerset's Death, to make room for more aspiring and dangerous Designs. Triumph'd over his Ashes only the space of one Year and a few Months, before he met a just Reward of all his Actions.

But outwardly for the present he gain'd a great Hand over the Nobility, who perceiving he was able to endanger the Estate of the Great-est, and that the more Respect they shew'd him, the more Safety they liv'd in, and were the more easily advanc'd to Honour, they all submitted to cringe to him, and crowded at his Levee; but very few, unless his own Creatures, were really in his Interest, or heartily pleas'd at the Measures he took.

And tho' the King at first did not appear openly in any Sadness of Countenance that might appear disagreeable to Majesty, yet he inwardly grieved for his Uncle, and would often sigh, and let fall Tears: He was of Opinion that he did not deserve Death; or if he had, that it was more owing to his Wife's Proceed-
F ings

ings than his own, and therefore is said to have broke out into the following Speeches.

“ And where then, *said he*, where was the
 “ Clemency of a Prince ? Where the Good Na-
 “ ture of a Nephew ? Ah ! how Unfortunate
 “ have I been to those of my own Blood ? My
 “ Mother I slew at my Birth, and since have
 “ made away Two of her Brothers, and possi-
 “ bly to make Way for the Purposes of others
 “ against myself. Was it ever known before
 “ that a King’s Uncle, a Lord’s Protector, One
 “ *whose Fortunes had much advanc’d the Honour*
 “ *of the Realm*, did lose his Head for Felony ?
 “ A Felony neither clear in Law, and in
 “ Fact weakly proved : Alas ! how falsely have
 “ I been abused ? How weakly carried ? How
 “ little was I Master of my own Judgment ?
 “ But both his Death, and the Envy of it,
 “ must be charg’d on me.

And from thenceforward the King began to languish in his Health, as **Northumberland** did to rise in Power and Authority, having the chief Sway in ordering all Things as he saw good. And now seeing his Opportunity, he got his Son *Guilford Dudley* Married to the Lady *Jane Grey*, eldest Daughter of *Henry Duke of Suffolk*, by *Frances*, Daughter to *Mary*, Second Sister to King *Henry VIII.* which was one great Step to the Ambitious Designs he had in Hand.

As the King’s Sickness daily encreas’d, so did **Northumberland** in his Diligence about him, for he was little absent, and had always those about the King to give him Notice how his Health chang’d or continu’d every Hour ; and the more joyful he was at the Heart, the more sorrowful was

was his Countenance : Whether any Tokens of Poison did appear Reports are various ; but his Physicians declar'd that they perceiv'd an invincible Malignity in his Disease ; but **Northumberland** regarded not the Murmuring of the Multitudes, knowing well that Rumours grow stale, and vanish with Time ; yet to dissipate them for the present, he caus'd it to be reported that the King was well recover'd in his Health, which was readily listen'd to, and gave great Satisfaction among the People : But the Certainty of his Danger again reviving, the Populace, upon a Disposition to interpret all **Northumberland's** Actions to the worst, left nothing unsaid that might convince him of their Hatred ; but he was now little mov'd thereat, for being equally obstinate in his Purpose and Desire, he resolv'd to dissemble no longer, but began openly to play his Game, which was next to displace the *Lawful Successor*, and set up the Lady *Jane Grey* aforesaid, who had Married his Son, and had no Right to the Crown, but through what his Ambition on that Account was capable to give her ; yet he procur'd, or rather constrain'd, the King to appoint her to succeed him.

Nor did this want for Opposition, for the Lord Chief Justice *Mountague*, and the other Judges, told the King, that the Articles shew'd them, according to which they shou'd Frame a Book for the Settlement of the Crown on the Lady *Jane*, *was directly against the Act of Succession*, which was an Act of Parliament, and wou'd be taken away by no such Device. But when they were told that it was the King's absolute Will that a Book shou'd be made according to those Articles, they took them, yet

resolv'd to do nothing, but to report to the Lords, that not only the executing this Device was Treason after the King's Death, but the very making of it was immediately Treason. For this Resolution *Northumberland* in the highest Rage call'd *Mountague* a Traitor, and so he went Home without doing any Thing more at that Time.

Soon after *Mountague* receiv'd a Second Letter from the Council to come to Court, where he, and some other of the Judges and Lawyers, were brought to the King, who demanding why they had not obey'd his Orders, *Mountague* told the King the Reason; adding, That if he had done it, it had been of no Effect, but become utterly void on the King's Demise; and that the *Statute of Succession* cou'd not be taken away but by the same Authority by which it was made, and that was by Parliament. The King said they shou'd prepare it, and afterwards it shou'd be ratified in Parliament. So that at last, what with the Duke's Anger; and the King's, and other Lords appearing resolutely for it, *Mountague* at length consented to it, obtaining first a Commission under the Great-Seal for so doing, and afterwards a general Pardon: So he and the rest drew up the Device, and, as he writes, with sorrowful and weeping Eyes; and lastly, after he had done it, to shew how little he approv'd of what he had done, he sent his Son to serve and assist the *Lawful Successor*.

It will be needless to repeat the Reasons then given for altering the *Succession*; yet it pass'd the Great-Seal, and was subscrib'd by all the Privy-Council, the greatest Part both of Number and Power

Power of the Nobility of the Realm; the Bishops, the King's Council, and all the Judges of the Common Law. Except Sir *James Hales*, who was afterwards unworthily rewarded by Queen *Mary* for his Refusal.

It is very probable that the general Inclination of all these proceeded from their particular Interests, being possessors of *Abby Lands*, &c. which they held themselves in Danger of losing, should, a Popish Successor ascend the Throne. Others were drawn in partly by Fear, and not a few through Obligation to *Northumberland*, who then grew exceeding Powerful, and almost Absolute in Government; and supposed to be capable to make any Title good, either by his Authority or his Sword.

There was, however, one Thing yet which he thought conducive to his Designs, that whilst the King languished under a Lingular Sickness he might draw the Lady *Mary* wholly into his Power: To which Purpose he sent Letters to her, directed in the King's Name, from the Council, requesting her forthwith to repair to Court to the King, her Brother, to comfort him, and alleviate the Misfortune of his Sickness, and to give Orders in Affairs about him; who, suspecting no Danger, put herself on her Journey; but when she came within half a Day's Journey of *London* she had secret Notice of the Snare that had been laid for her; and returning to *Hunsdon*, she there receiv'd the News of her Brother's Death, and of *Northumberland's* secret Practices; and judging it unsafe to remain near *London*, where her Enemies were in full Power, she withdrew from *Hunsdon House* in *Hertfordshire*, to *Framlingham-Castle* in *Suffolk*,

Suffolk, to wait the Issue ; in the mean Time the King's Death was conceal'd from the People Two Days, the better to effect *Northumberland's* Purposes: But then was Queen *Jane* Proclaim'd with all Solemnity ; and a Letter dispatch'd from the Council to the Lady *Mary* to satisfy her therein, and to exhort her to desist from her Title ; instead of which she began to gather what Men she could, many of the Lords and Gentry resorting to her.

For this Reason the Lords in Council, under the Influence of *Northumberland*, began to raise Forces with all possible Speed, that they might surprize the Lady *Mary*, and bring her to *London* by Force. The Duke of *Suffolk* was design'd General of these Troops ; but those who secretly favour'd the Lady *Mary*, influenc'd the new Queen to keep her Father near her, and to send *Northumberland*, who, they said, might do more by the Terror of his Name, having lately reduc'd the *Norfolk* Rebels, than the other by his Arms and Council. Besides, who was a properer Guardian to her than her own Father ? And as to the City, her Council were at Hand to govern it with their usual Wisdom and Fidelity.

Being mov'd with these Reasons, she prevail'd with *Northumberland* to undertake the Charge ; she was in a World of Apprehension, lest any Disorder, or unlook'd-for Alteration, should happen in his Absence ; but since he had no plausible Way to excuse himself, he prepared for his March with an Army of 6000 Men, and a Handsome Train of Artillery, &c.

The Preachers whom *Northumberland* had appointed in *London* in great Numbers to oppose *Queen Mary's* Title, prevail'd but little in the City, much less in the Countrey; for the Common People began to flock to her in great Multitudes; and not the Common Sort only, but many of the best Interest and Quality, took the first Opportunity to join her.

This was a very great Damp to *Northumberland's* Designs; but it happen'd yet worse when *Sir Edward Hastings*, Brother to the Earl of *Huntington*, who had a Commission from *Northumberland* to raise 4000 Foot, went over with them to *Queen Mary*. Another Accident prov'd likewise of great Advantage to the *Lady Mary's* Cause; for *Northumberland* having appointed 6 Men of War to Cruise on the *Northern* Coast, to prevent the *Lady Mary's* Flying by Sea, these were by Stress of Weather driven into *Yarmouth* Harbour, and there secured for her Service.

The Lords who were with *Lady Jane*, as soon as they heard of these Passages, were under dreadful Apprehensions for the Consequence, whilst, on the other Hand, the *Lady Mary's* Friends at Court were inspir'd with new Vigour; and being grown more Bold and Resolute, began to open their Minds to each other. *Northumberland* had written to the Council to desire more Forces: He had 8000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, when he arriv'd at *Cambridge*; but by that Time he reach'd *St. Edmond's-Bury* he found them greatly diminish'd in their Numbers. Many deserted him daily; and he fear'd no less than a general Defection among his

his Troops, for which Reason he went back to *Cambridge*, and there ply'd the Council with continual Application for more Forces.

The Lady *Mary's* Party taking their Opportunity, came to a Resolution, That the necessary Forces should be rais'd as soon as possible; but concluded, That none except themselves ought to be trusted with the Command, for Fear of the same Dangerous Experiment of *Sir Edward Hastings* to *Northumberland*. And now getting out of the *Lower*, where, in a Manner, they had sat only like Prisoners, these Lords of the Council, besides many other of the Nobility, well affected to the Lady *Mary*, assembled themselves at *Baynard-Castle*, the Earl of *Pembroke's* House, under Pretence of Treating on other Matters, but in Reality to concert Measures to dethrone the Lady *Jane*, and set up the Lawful Successor.

In this Consultation the Earl of *Arundel* fell severely upon *Northumberland*: He ran over the History of the late Times, and accumulated every Act of Mismanagement, Cruelty, Ambition, and Injustice committed in the late Reign, and threw the Odium of all upon him only; and profess'd himself amaz'd how he had brought such Great and Noble Persons, meaning those Present, to be Tools to his Preposterous and Wicked Designs; for 'twas by their Consent and Assistance that his Daughter-in-Law, the Lady *Jane*, had the Crown put on her Head; the Sovereignty in effect remaining in him to exercise the most unaccountable Rage and Tyranny over their Lives and Fortunes. To accomplish this Usurpation indeed the Cause of Religion was pretended; but tho' they

they had forgot the Apostle's Advice, *Not to do Evil that Good may come on it* ; and to obey even bad Princes, not out of Fear, but for Conscience Sake ; yet who he ask'd had Reason to believe that Queen *Mary* intended any Alteration ; and what a Madness is it, continues he, for Men to precipitate themselves into certain Destruction to avoid an uncertain Danger ? And therefore propos'd that the Lady *Mary*, undoubted Heir to the Crown, might be Proclaim'd.

When the Earl of *Arundel* had finish'd his Speech, the Earl of *Pembroke* generously express'd aloud his Approbation of the Proposal ; and clapping his Hand on his Sword, added, *That he was ready to dispute that Matter at the Peril of his Life with any that durst oppose it.*

Upon this they all went into the same Resolution, and Queen *Mary* was immediately Proclaim'd thro' the City ; which was no sooner done, but the Lords sent and seiz'd the *Tower*, and oblig'd the Duke of *Suffolk* to appear before the Council, who, upon the first Rumours of what had pass'd, was strangely dejected ; and going into his Daughter's Apartment, ordered all the Ceremonies of Royalty to cease, and admonish'd her to bear with Patience what could not be help'd, to think of returning to a private State of Life : This done, *Suffolk* went directly to the Council, and subscribed their Decree.

After general Acclamations on this Account, *Arundel* and *Paget* having seen Things well accomplished, took Horse the same Night, and carried the News to the Queen, who received it with great Transports and Joy, the Confirmation

tion of so happy a Revolution. The Council in the mean Time dispatch'd Letters to *Northumberland* to inform him of what had pass'd, requiring him to sign the Decree, and disband his Army: But before he receiv'd these, suspecting a Change, and cunningly disguising his Concern, pusilanimously Proclaim'd Queen *Mary* at *Cambridge*; and throwing up his Hat in the Crowd, pretended to express his Joy: Then his Army was disbanded, and all the Nobility of his Party going over to Queen *Mary*, obtain'd Pardon, by throwing the whole Guilt upon *Northumberland*.

The Lady *Jane* was seiz'd, and her Attendants remanded to their respective Homes; *Northumberland* too, by Order of the Queen, was seiz'd by the Earl of *Arundel*, and sent Prisoner to the *Tower*, together with Sir *Andrew Dudley*, his Brother, and others of the Party: The *Lawful Successor* was set on the *Throne*. *Northumberland*, for his Subtle and Pernicious Practices, lost his Ambitious Head, (People upbraiding him with the Blood and Ruin of *Somerset* and his Friends,) and the Nation made sensible *how great a Tyrant and Monster in the State they had caress'd*,

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